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## THE PORTRAITURE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT: A TERRACOTTA HEAD IN MUNICH. (\*)

[PLATES XV, XVI.]

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### II.

The Alexandrian age was in love with allegories and assimilations in painting and sculpture. Lucian's charming account of Aëtion's epithalamium in colors on the wedding of Alexander and Roxana,—the same of which a thoughtful judge has observed, that it is one of the few descriptions of ancient paintings graphic enough to vivify the dryness of Pliny's short notices (Brunn, *Gr. Kunst.* II, 247),—might apply almost as well to a mythological scene, with Ares and Aphrodite in the principal parts (Lucian, *Herod. sive Aetion*, 4; Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv, 78). Against so many pure portraitures and compositions of an allegorical cast, but one contemporary historical painting can be cited, the work of Helena, a female artist, whose home appears to have been Alexandria in Egypt. The great Pompeian mosaic known as the Battle of Alexander has often been considered a copy of the spirited brush of this artist, and it is quite certain that it was meant for the battle of Issos, which was that which Helena had rendered. Possibly, the claims of the Battle of Alexander and Dareios, which Philoxenos of Eretria executed about 306 B. C. by the commission of Kassandros (Plin. *H. N.* xxxv, 110), might be considered with those of Helena's contemporary

(\*) Continued from vol. II, p. 413.

composition. But we know too little of either artist to judge with any competence.

The gold mummy-case in which the body of Alexander was transported to Egypt can hardly be styled an image, at least in an artistic sense; but we may note, in the elaborate description Diodoros gives of the magnificent funeral-car constructed by Arrhidaios, the fourfold painted frieze that was visible through the gilded Ionic columns and netting which decorated the mobile mausoleum. On three sides, were figured ships, cavalry, and elephants; on the fourth, which could only be the front, two groups of paladins, viz. Makedonians, and sceptred Persians with their armorers before them, surrounded their hero-king, sitting charioted, and holding the royal sceptre (Diod. Sic. XVIII, 26). In the end, Alexander's features, like Vergil's verse, became a charm for the superstitious to conjure with. A sacrificial patera with his effigy was a venerated heirloom in the family of Alexander Severus (Lampridius, *Vita Alex. Sev.* 29), and the *gens Macria* used the head as a talisman to wear embroidered on clothing, and carry on the person in a variety of other ways.

With all this wealth of portraiture, it was reserved for modern scientific archæology, starting from one authentic but indifferent marble head, to proceed from stray and dubious identifications towards the goal, not quite attained, of a reliable classification of the extant material. It was but natural to look for the lineaments which many literary allusions caused to seem almost familiar, for the "joyous eyes and brilliant" of Solinus; for the "arched nose," not aquiline, as Frenshemius calls it in his supplementations of Quintus Curtius, but more nicely termed *ὑπόγρυπος* by his Greek original; for the "leonine" eyes and mane of the always grandiloquent Plutarch; or the "bushy hair" of Ælian's homelier phrase. A number of more than dubious busts and statues, scattered through the museums, attest the activity of those early enthusiasts, for whom any casual resemblance or coincidence was sufficient justification for cataloguing a new portrait of the most popular historical personage of antiquity. One cause that helped to swell the number of false "Alexanders" must be recognized in the notorious fondness of some among his successors for imitating his appearance, his manners, and even his deformities. Another cause was the fortuitous circumstance, that a marked physiognomic similarity exists between heads of undoubted authenticity and certain ideal conceptions of a mythologic nature, as treated by the

leading artists of the Hellenistic age and their followers,—Helios, Herakles, Telephos, Giants, Tritons, Satyrs even.

For an authentic representation of Alexander's features, we naturally look to the gold and silver and bronze coinage issued from his own mint. An amusing blunder was that of the painter Lebrun who, endeavoring to grace his canvas with a correct likeness of his historic hero, imitated the handsome head in a Korinthian helmet which we find on the obverse of the gold staters that bear the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ—lending a more masculine quality, perhaps, to the delicate profile. In reality, the head on the coin is feminine, as an external sign, the distinct earring, sufficiently proves. The locks that escape under the rim of the helmet are those of the goddess Athena. The consideration occurs that no Greek sovereign before the epoch in question ventured to stamp his own effigy on the currency of his realm. The figures of gods, or national devices, were held a better decoration for such a purpose. Accordingly, the divinities preferred above others by Alexander are those which find a place on his coinage: Athena, on the obverse of the gold pieces; Nike bearing a wreath, palm, or trophy-cross, on the reverse of these coins; Zeus enthroned and facing to left, on the inscribed reverse of the silver pieces; the head of Herakles, apparently (wearing a lion's scalp for a hood), on the obverse, not only of the silver pieces, but also of the bronze, which have, on the other side, his attributes—club, bow, and quiver. Thus it seems but natural that, as a reaction from this too easy credulity, the careful author of the learned *Examen critique des historiens d'Alexandre*,<sup>25</sup> with Eckhel, Stieglitz, Arneth, and others,<sup>26</sup> should repudiate the notion that any portrait-lineaments can be found on the medals. Yet the evidence that they may be sought in the Herakleian profile just mentioned, which was long considered as feeble and suspicious in no ordinary degree, is rendered convincing by the latest numismatic and iconographic discoveries. It is true, the type occurs on contemporary Tarantine coins, and even on Makedonian pieces struck before the reign of Alexander. Also, the likeness of the features, as seen on different specimens, to other portraits or to each other, is often impossible to detect. In any event, it can only be supposed, with L. Müller our chief authority (*op. cit.*), that the die-engravers gradually gave a less or greater semblance of portrait-likeness to the

<sup>25</sup> BARTHÉLEMY-FIGEAC, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> L. MÜLLER, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*: Copenhagen, 1855.

profile of what was originally a purely ideal head of the ancestor of the royal house of Makedonia.

That the later ancients, at least, recognized an effigy of Alexander on the coins of his reign, is quite certain; for St. John Chrysostom (*Ad illumin. cateches.* 2) deprecates the custom of wearing the same as amulets, as if some divine efficacy could reside in the likeness of a pagan prince. Diogenes Laërtios alludes to the beauty of Alexander's coinage in language which implies that it bore his effigy. The identical head and *coiffure* on a medal of Pisidian Apollonia with the circumscription ΚΤΙCΤῆν ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝιδάται is sufficiently conclusive.<sup>27</sup> Medals struck in honor of a founder do not bear the image of an indifferent god. To the query how to account for royalty appearing in so unusual a garb, the defenders of the likeness<sup>28</sup> have a ready answer. Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos says that a lion's mask was a royal insignium with the kings of Makedonia, and is for this reason found on the coins.<sup>29</sup> And that this is no mere invention of the imperial publicist is shown by the statement of Athenaios, who says that these primitive regalia were actually worn by Alexander himself. The case rests here. The notion that the head on the tetradrachms was primarily intended for Alexander must certainly be dismissed. But Müller's conclusion, that he gradually usurped the accoutrements along with a share of the veneration due to his mythical ancestor and prototype, is not untenable, and will sufficiently account for the diversity in physiognomy on the different classes of coins which correspond to successive mintages; for the variations in the types are accompanied by alterations in size, *etc.*, such as justify Müller's chronological classification in at least seven distinct series. It was thus that Commodus assumed the title and garb of a *Hercules Romanus*.

After Alexander's death, coins with his effigy and superscription continued to be struck. A tetradrachm, for example,<sup>30</sup> which a dimin-

<sup>27</sup> VISCONTI, *Iconographie grecque*, s. v. *Alexandre*.

<sup>28</sup> MÜLLER enumerates Visconti, Cadavène, Cousinéry, Ch. Lenormant, Duchalais, Pinder, O. Müller, and Birch. Among the earliest was LE BLOND, *Du vrai portrait d'Alexandre le Grand* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, an v).

<sup>29</sup> *De Thematis*, II, 2 = διὸ καὶ ἀντὶ ταυνίας, καὶ στέμματος, καὶ πορφύρας βασιλικῆς τῷ δέσποτι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ λέοντος ἐαυτοῦς ταυνοδοῦσι κτλ.

<sup>30</sup> In Müller's plate, the head of Alexander seems substituted for that of Zeus Aëtophoros on the reverse. The lineaments are unmistakable, diminutive as the figure is, and such an alteration would be after the analogy of the obverse; but Prof. Rhusopulos, of Athens, to whom the writer is greatly indebted for facilities accorded to study his

utive palm-tree and the monogram AP designate as having been struck at Phoinikian Arados, bears in its exergue the date "Year 40" in Phoinikian characters. The era is that of the conquest of the Phoinikian coast by Alexander, or 332 B. C. Year 40, then, is 292 B. C. The occurrence of such dated coins, in the early days of numismatic science, induced certain antiquarians to assume for Alexander's reign a length altogether at variance with literary tradition. Not only did autonomous states, like Kos, Arados, Odessos, the Aitolians, and Smyrna, Lemnos, Mitylene, Phokaia, Miletos, Chios, Rhodos and others, on the recovery of their autonomy in 190 B. C., continue to strike money of the Herakles-Alexander type, as that belonging to the principal circulating medium,<sup>31</sup> but the conqueror's princely successors also exercised extreme caution in substituting their own portraits for his. The personal coefficient, however, except when the old types remain unaltered, becomes more pronounced, whether it be found in feature or in attribute. A striking series is that in which the familiar profile looks forth from under the scalp of an elephant instead of a lion. Here a diadem confines the luxuriant locks that rise from an indented forehead, under the conventionalized trunk and tusk; a tiny ram's horn protrudes from beneath and shows itself under the shrivelled skin; like the scaled aegis and knotted serpents seen below, this is the distinctive attribute of the son of Zeus Ammon.<sup>32</sup> The reverse exhibits an Athena Promachos of archaistic design, in the field an eagle on a thunderbolt, the badge of Ptolemy I Soter, the same that will later occupy the whole reverse of his portrait-stamped medals. As long as Ptolemy governed in the name of Alexander IV, the son of Roxana, he seems to have coined money in the name of that prince. Accordingly, we read nothing but ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on these pieces. But there is one notable exception in the unique tetradrachm of the "Cabinet des médailles." On it we read the peculiar legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ. Perhaps, then, after all, the 'Αλεξάνδρου of the others refers to the Alexander, whose name had become almost an inherent feature of the currency, and was so employed up to more than a hundred years later, as we have seen above. 'Αλεξάνδρειον would be simply the name of a coin, like *ναπο-*

rich numismatic collection, thinks that the engraver was misled by the abrasion of the beard on the specimen that served him for model.

<sup>31</sup> See Mr. HEAD's observations in his *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, p. 87, and under pertinent numbers of the catalogue.

<sup>32</sup> A fine enlargement of this medal is given in Mr. STILLMAN's article on *The Coinage of the Greeks*, in the *Century Magazine*, vol. XXXIII, p. 797.

*léon* or *louis d'or*. The piece of the "Cabinet des médailles" may have been struck in the interval between the death of Alexander Aigos (311 B. C.) and Ptolemy's assumption of the title and prerogatives of sovereignty (306 B. C.), but name and portrait belong to the great Alexander. With such a specimen in hand, it needs no attentive comparison of mint-marks to do away with the old idea that the elephant-scalp stater belonged to the coinage of some other Alexander, such as the contemporary king of Epeiros, or poor Ptolemy XI. Lysimachos, like Ptolemy, retained the portrait of Alexander, but with characteristic alterations: his are the staters and tetradrachms with the head of Alexander, deified, with diadem and horn of Ammon, and a seated Athena Nikephoros on the reverse.

Among other early royal portrait-medals of the Hellenistic age, those of Demetrios Poliorketes, diademed and with the bull's horn growing from his forehead, most closely attach themselves to those that bear the portrait of Alexander himself. Hieron II of Syracuse readily assimilated the innovation of the Makedonian princes, and the custom of putting forth currency under the likeness of the sovereign soon became traditional and general. Pyrrhos, in whom the Hellenic spirit lived on, was faithful to the Hellenic traditions in this respect. None of his coinage bears his likeness.

The beauty of the Hellenistic portrait-medals enables us to give but a passing notice to the use of Alexander's head as a monetary device by the Romans, on their Makedonian currency of the first century B. C., and under Alexander Severus.

### III.

There is little difficulty in grouping most of the extant reproductions of Alexander's features according to their affinities with one or other of the celebrated portraits known to antiquity, or with the medals. The only one that has his name attached to it has served in some sort as a standard by which to try the authenticity of less certain busts and statues. This is the bust found at Tivoli in 1779, acquired by the Chevalier d'Azara, then Spanish Ambassador to Rome, and when he became ambassador of Spain at the court of France presented by him to Napoleon, and now in the Louvre. The character of its inscription,

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ  
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ  
ΜΑΚΕΤΕΛΕΥΣ

as also that of its technical execution, marks it as of the time of Augustus. All freshness and inspiration are absolutely wanting, and the piece is further defaced by restorations about the nose, mouth, and shoulders, and by the marks on the marble surface occasioned by a bath in sulfuric acid. Yet in its detail it tallies with the descriptions of the original physiognomy: in particular, the leftward turn of the head is there, with the enlargement of the side of the face opposite the affected muscle which frequently accompanies cases of *torticollis*. Perhaps it will be safe to credit the original of this bust to one of the unsuccessful rivals of Lysippos.<sup>33</sup>

The figure of Alexander in a relief of the Albani collection that represents his meeting with Diogenes the Cynic is as good as inscribed. He stands seminude, wearing a helmet, while the philosopher sits, disrespectfully, beside his cracked jar or tub. As the figure of the king is entirely due to a restorer's hand, it is without any archæological value.

Winckelmann was acquainted with a porphyry bust, not likely to offer any special interest, and further mentions two busts, about the character of which there has been much contention, and both of transcendent sculptural excellence: the once radiated head of the Capitoline Museum, otherwise known as a Sol Oriens,<sup>34</sup> and the "Dying Alexander" of the Uffizi Gallery at Firenze.<sup>35</sup> Two complete statues, replicas of one type,

<sup>33</sup> First published by VISCONTI, *Iconographie grecque*, under *Alexandre le Grand*. The most accessible cuts of the better-known portraits of it will be found in BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, s. v.

<sup>34</sup> *Stanza del gladiatore*, No. 3; I subjoin the catalogue notice from the official *Nuova descrizione del Museo Capitolino*: "Alexander the Great: head. The lineaments of the face correspond with the hermes in the Louvre Museum; but it has a considerably more ideal expression. The head is inclined a little to the left, and the gaze is directed upward as in a serene rapture. Its long hair rises above the forehead in a fashion resembling that of the images of Zeus. Seven drilled holes about the crown of the head probably served for the insertion of metal rays; hence it has been assumed that the king was represented with the attributes of the Sun-god. This and other analogous portraits of Alexander are considered copies after originals by Lysippos, inasmuch as we know him to have been variously portrayed by this famous Sikyonian master alone. Greek marble. Preservation excellent. Only the tip of the nose and the neck of the bust are restored. The back is left in the rough. Foot of *bigio lumacato*. Height 0.78 m." He has whiskers, and the characteristic tusk-shaped lock on the right cheek. What looks like a wart above his left eyebrow is the point of a lost curl. The marble-drill was much employed by the sculptor of this bust.

<sup>35</sup> On the connection of this piece with the Giant Frieze from Pergamon, now in Berlin, the reader is referred to a paper by the writer in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. iv, pp. 204-7.



now respectively in Paris and München, were also known to him.<sup>36</sup> The treatment of the subject and figure is thoroughly Lysippian. Absolute nudity finds its occasion in preparation for athletic sport. The general has doffed his armor and clothing to anoint his body with oil, in accordance with the practice of the palaistra. His draped tunic is carelessly thrown over a cuirass stood beside him. Balancing the weight of a sturdy body on his left leg, he has set his right foot on a rock, the more easily to rub the bent leg above it with an unguent. A vessel from which this has been poured is held firmly in the left hand. Not quite absorbed in so mechanical an action, the hero is free to direct his interested gaze straight before him. Is he watching the play of athletic companions? Is he scanning the ground about him with the topographical eye of a soldier? Or is the external vision but the shadow of an inward visualization. Thus Poseidon leans and looks, on the coins of Demetrios; thus Demetrios himself gazes into the distance, in the bronze statuette from Herculaneum. These are closely related types. The like attitude of Herakles over the fallen lion on the first Olympian metope is more remotely kindred. There is a suggestion of the unrestful rest of Ares Ludovisi in the ethos of this only statue of the conqueror that has been preserved to us. Its portrait-value must be considerable. An uninjured nose—always a subject of congratulation in Greek or Roman statuary, as well as a great rarity in the small array of authentic Alexanders—is not the least interesting feature of the München replica; from it we learn the sense of that precisising physiognomic definition of it as *ὑπόγυππος*, or *subaquiline*. The hair falls backward and to the shoulders in customary leonine richness, with a depression all around the crown as from the constant wearing of a fillet.

The characteristic thus designated is distinctly absent in two busts recently coupled in a monograph by Bernhard Stark.<sup>37</sup> At the first blush, the head from Count Erbach's collection (found in Tivoli towards the close of the last century, like the Paris hermes) recalls the much-discussed *Spinario*.<sup>38</sup> Curls entirely conceal both ears, not being brushed back as in the majority of the heads; on the contrary, they cover the skull naturally without giving the face the mask-like appearance com-

<sup>36</sup> Identified as a portrait of him, through comparison with his medals, by Visconti. See BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Demetrios*.

<sup>37</sup> *Zwei Alexanderköpfe, Festschrift der Universität Heidelberg zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts in Rom*: Heidelberg, 1879.

<sup>38</sup> Both are given in BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*.

mon to many of the other portraits. Whatever individual features are there, are tempered by a youthful roundness and softness that imparts an unequalled charm to this novel rendering of Alexander's countenance. The faintest enlargement appears in the right sterno-cleido-mastoid, showing that the head was once turned leftward. A restorer has not noticed this. The eye-sockets are deep (τὸ λεοντῶδες τοῦ προσώπου). A thin upper lip is most delicately drawn up on both sides of a central point, exposing a portion of the teeth. This peculiarity is more marked than usual. Stark—who recognizes in this bust (which was originally, as shown by the iron dowel found planted in it, part of a complete statue) affinities to the Lysippian and Praxitelian types of Zeus, Eros, and Ares—is inclined to connect it with the chryselephantine statues dedicated in the Philippeion at Olympia, and consequently with the work of Leochares. The other is the well-known head in the British Museum. It has the arrangement of the hair, the peculiarity of the mouth, and the faint suggestion of the slight deformity in common with the other. A feature here alone given with such a degree of emphasis, is the overlapping of the *orbicularis superior palpebrarum* over the nether at the external commissure of the eyelids. The nose is conventionally straight; the cheeks hewn in larger and more vertical planes than customary. The trace of a metal diadem is visible in the hair. If the Erbach head gives us a purely Hellenic type of the *μελλέφηβος*, according to Stark's formulation, the progress achieved from that head to this older one is in the direction of mastery of the new elements introduced with a half or wholly barbarian type. The striking resemblance to the conquered German prince known as Thumelicus, the son of Arminius, in the British Museum, cannot be entirely fortuitous.<sup>39</sup> There is an unrecognized portrait-bust in the Capitoline Museum, once without reason held to represent Arminius himself, which strongly suggests another likeness of the youthful Alexander.<sup>40</sup> The same collection furnishes three more

<sup>39</sup> The head is given in BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Barbarenbildungen*.

<sup>40</sup> "Stanza dei filosofi," No. 59. "Bust of an unknown personage. The long hair falls waving over forehead and ears, which last it entirely covers. The face is not absolutely beardless; a faint down is visible about the upper lip, the lower portion of the chin and cheeks. The eyes, with their pupils indicated, have an expression of passion and anger. The type of the countenance partakes of the barbaric nature, and led some archaeologists to recognize a portrait of Arminius, the famous conqueror of Varus, in this bust. Others have tried to recognize in it the rhetor Apuleius of Madaura in Numidia. The shoulders and bare breast are done in a picturesque style

examples either of portraiture, or of conscious imitation of the given portrait-type, all gathered, curiously enough, in the same "Stanza dei filosofi." The writer would severally designate them as a very inferior portrait,<sup>41</sup> as one of the Diadochi,<sup>42</sup> and as a princely or athletic type largely modelled on a recollection of some Lysippian head of Alexander.<sup>43</sup>

The probabilities are that numbers of sculptured heads of Alexander still await the observation of archaeologists in private collections. The writer was recently acquainted with the existence of one among a collection of antiques on its way from Rome to Frankfurt-am-Main, and learns of another of which he subjoins a description from a private letter.<sup>44</sup>

There is a certain affinity both in conception and circumstance between the principal figure in the great mosaic from the "Casa del Fauno" in Pompeii, now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples,<sup>45</sup> and the

full of effectiveness. Greek marble. Nothing restored but the tip of the nose. Height 0.73 m. Found in the vicinity of Naples." The eyes are directed to the right and upwards.

<sup>41</sup> "Stanza dei filosofi," No. 26. "Male hermes, once supposed to be the portrait of Apuleius of Madaura, but without reason. The beardless face presents a youthful aspect, the long and thick hair rises parting on the forehead and, covering the ears, altogether drops upon the neck. The lineaments are without semblance of portraiture, but rather suggest an ideal personage (Helios?). Greek marble. The nose is restored, the hermes foot is entirely modern. Height 0.59 m." To this add, that there is a channel for a fillet-diadem in the hair, and that the workmanship is execrably poor.

<sup>42</sup> "Stanza dei filosofi," No. 1. "Hermes of an ideal personage (Apollo?). Formerly this hermes was thought to represent the poet Vergil; but the ideal lines of the face, and the abundant hair that flows in ringlets that cover the temples and ears, have nothing in common with a Roman portrait. The head is bound with a fillet; cheeks and neck are sculptured with great elegance. Luna marble. The tip of the nose, the chin and some pieces of the neck are restored. The foot is put together and worked over, but antique." The familiar deformity is imitated in the neck. A head of similar character found during M. Homolle's excavation in Delos, was recently published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* as an example of the craze of the Diadochi for resembling the outward appearance of their great archetype, but M. Reinach, in a recent paper in the *Gazette Archéologique*, regards it as an Alexander.

<sup>43</sup> "Stanza dei filosofi," No. 28. "Colossal ideal head, once falsely thought to be the portrait of Alexander the Great. It inclines to the left. The half-open mouth and the upward gaze give much expression to the face, &c., &c. Height 0.81 m. Discovered at Priverno in 1839."

<sup>44</sup> "One of the finest things in Baron Baracco's superb collection of Greek sculpture in Rome is a colossal bust of Alexander, in marble and of fine art, probably of the III century before Christ. The head is bent to the side and slightly upward: the head is lion-like and the expression misty and far-reaching. It is a thorough chef-d'œuvre."

<sup>45</sup> Found 1831, and placed in the pavement of the fifth hall or "Stanza della Flora."

small bronze, early recognized by the learned academicians of Herculaneum for a copy from the equestrian battle group by Lysippos.<sup>46</sup> The mosaic is admittedly copied from Helena's contemporary picture of the battle of Issos. Alexander, mounted on a prancing charger, and in a general's panoply, but helmetless, has just transfixed a Persian noble with his long Makedonian spear, or sarissa. His countenance is viewed in profile, or nearly, the left eyelash appearing behind the high-bridged and straight nose. The brown hair is mane-like, the brow somewhat drawn, the eye brown and wide-open; mouth and chin recall the coins; the skin is not white, but quite sun-colored; the cheek is framed by a brownish whisker, as in the Capitoline bust. A tunic sleeve covers the right arm. A sword hangs by a short baldric on the left side of the cuirass.

The Herculanean bronze likewise represents the man on horseback and in armor. The helmet is again missing, this time perhaps in allusion to an incident in the fight on the Granikos. The King's helmet had been rendered useless by the stroke of a Persian scimitar. Instead of the spear he holds a short sword, using it not *punctum* but *caesim*, as a Vegetius would tell us—not thrusting but hewing with the edge. In this vigorous action of the right arm and reaching to rightward of the whole body, the rider being without stirrups, his left leg is well advanced, while his right swings back from the knee to a nearly horizontal position. Exactly the same position has been noted by M. Salomon Reinach in a terracotta replica found in a koroplastic collection from Smyrna;<sup>47</sup> the body of the rider is unfortunately destroyed in the replica he describes, but the circumstance is enough to show that this and the Neapolitan bronze are reduced copies from one and the same celebrated work. In still more reduced proportions a similar figure appears on the reverse sides of two magnificent gold medallions from Tarsos, among the treasures of the "Cabinet des médailles:" their technique assigns them to the domain of numismatic science, and the circumstances of their discovery to the age of Commodus. In this case the rider is attacking a lion with his spear. The writer is not aware that anyone has yet thought of connecting this figure with that other composition of Lysippos, the Lion-hunt. The central figure of the Hunt would then have been selected by the copyist from among

<sup>46</sup> Museo Nazionale, No. 4996. Found at Herculaneum 1761. A large engraving of the head is given in VISCONTI'S *Iconographie grecque*.

<sup>47</sup> Catalogued by M. REINACH in the *Mélanges Grauz*.

its companions, just as the corresponding one was from the *turma equitum*. Other replicas exist to corroborate this view. The emperor Commodus himself is delineated in the same equestrian attitude, attacking a lion, on a cameo shown to the writer in the same collection, and on another observed by him in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, the celebrated Vatican statue of Commodus, which served as a model for Bernini's Constantine the Great in the portico of St. Peter's, is also an obvious imitation of the Lysippian original.

The gold medallions of Tarsos repeat another of the royal portraits already noticed, on not a reduced but an enlarged scale; this is the Herakles-Alexander of the tetradrachms. It is therefore but natural to suppose that a second splendid profile found on one of the medallions, and which needs no attributes to serve as the key to its evident individuality, is likewise derived from one of the notable contemporary likenesses. The lines and expression of the face, indeed, and also the pose of the head and neck as well, suggest the Lysippian type; but a certain radial rather than leonine disposition of the hair tempts to new conjecture. Few medallion-heads fit and fill the limits of a circle half so well. The analogy of the companion piece permits the supposition of enlargement from a small original, say a coin, or, since no coin of this type is known, an engraved gem. We know only one engraver whose work would have been likely to serve as a model for so costly a replica as the Tarsos medallion. But, waiving speculation as to the originator of this artistic type, which can in no case be entirely dissociated from the school of Lysippos, may it suffice to say that it is so worthy of the material in which it is embodied as to stand emphatically supreme among the extant portraits so far enumerated.

Could a higher iconic importance be assigned to any other, the special subject of this sketch, a small terracotta in the Royal "Antiquarium" at München, were the only rival with a claim to be considered. Its high excellence, indeed, is the justification of its presentation in this Journal, a careful collation with the original, by the writer, having satisfied him of the entire inadequacy of the copperplate outline in a previous publication.<sup>49</sup>

The Director of the Royal "Antiquarium" kindly permitted a photographic reproduction of the terracotta in question, from which the

<sup>48</sup> No. 58 among the precious stones; the same collection contains some unimportant engraved heads of Alexander—Nos. 121 and 1024. No. 155 is modern.

<sup>49</sup> LÜTZOW, *Muenchener Antiken*, plate xxxi.

phototype plates that accompany this article were made. Unfortunately, the process has reciprocally changed the sides of the face, so that in both plates the reader will see rather a mirrored reflection, as it were, than the proper delineation of the original. The proportions are those of the antique itself. It measures 0.143 millimeters in height, including the restored plinth, or, excluding it, 0.131 m. The piece was acquired by King Louis I of Bavaria, along with a female head of the same character, and very probably by the same hand (No. 387 a), from the Roman sculptor Fogelberg, as stated by Lützow. No further information on their provenance can be elicited from the archives of the "Antiquarium." The Rhodian origin conjectured by Lützow rests on internal evidence. Both heads were modelled without bodies; for the bases of the necks are tooled, not broken, and it does not appear likely that they were ever attached. What seems part of a garment adhering to the back of the neck, in the one presented, is a portion of the cascade of unbroken locks that once covered this part. Both heads exhibit, with the same adherent particles of whitish calcareous substance, the same plentiful vestiges of a red pigment, not confined to any particular division of the surface, but such as to show that the entire head and face were colored bright red. Lützow made out a difference of light and darker hue, which the writer could no longer distinguish; but it is possible that the hair contrasted with the skin-surface, burnt sienna against vermilion, to suggest, heraldically, as it were (as the fashion of antique polychromy oftenest was), the proper tinges of chestnut and carnation. Both heads are of a like boldness of characterization, and a sketchiness of execution that carries with it a breath of moist studio air. On close examination it will be found that they are not retouched mouldings, like most antique terracottas, but original models, nor too carefully finished at that. It will be observed that no such threads disfigure the surface as remain on moulded specimens; that the hair abounds not only in undercut edges but also in aduncous or ansate locks: both of which features would greatly impede taking a cast from it, for example. Further, a trained eye will notice that a large portion of the hair is hardly more than thrown up; the furrows are made with a round-pointed stick, apparently the same whether for so small a scoop as that over the right eye, or for the long rill that runs entirely around the head as if to receive a fillet. One of the individualizing features consists in the parallel tusk-like locks that adorn the right cheek: the breakage shows that they were laid on after the

modelling of the face was completed to smoothness; a few scratches remain as traces of the erasure of such a lock deemed superfluous by the artist, and which would evidently have interfered with the outline of the face. Finally, we have the very touch of the sculptor's finger, or rather thumb, one dexterous twist of which was sufficient to shape the expressive forms of the eye. A diagonal striation across this organ and its socket, plain enough in the original, and observable even in the photograph, is imprinted by the pressure of the papillae.

All these particulars of technique, together with a most forceful boldness of conception and characterization, make us accept without hesitation what appeared certain to Lützow, viz.: that we have before us an original by a consummately skillful Greek sculptor of that Hellenistic age which attained to mastery in the expression of pathetic emotion. If Lützow goes further, and specifies the Rhodian school, we may suspect that nothing but the conspicuousness of a great masterpiece of that school suggested so confident a determination. We now know that Pergamon and other centres of Hellenistic art were fully capable of analogous successes, and the gradual rise of the pathetic element has been traced back to periods that were purely Hellenic.

We shall experience no hesitation, if its portrait character shall appear evident, in regarding a work of so pronounced an originality as having come from the studio of some master of the very first order of ability, a contemporary of Alexander. That it is an original sketch, or sculptor's first model, is the opinion of the Director of the Antiquarium, and this view has suggested itself spontaneously to almost every person of cultivated eye to whom I have shown the photograph.<sup>50</sup>

The identity of the subject admits of no question. We discover in the clay image every traditional physiognomic feature of the patron of Lysippos and Apelles: the leonine mane, the indented forehead which archæologists have denominated the Lysippian, the clear vision combined with a strange softness in the expression of the eyes, the terrible countenance whose anger quelled a mutiny, the subaquiline nose of a word-weighting biographer, the skyward glance of the epigrammatist, and its cause in the slight deformity of the neck. Yet, although we may recognize these features, although we may even detect such elusive

<sup>50</sup> The companion piece, the head of an elderly woman wearing a bitter expression (Olympias?), belongs to the same category, not unexampled, I think, among extant antiques. I have learned of but one other terracotta Alexander, a small head in the possession of Prof. A. L. Frothingham, jr.

resemblances to the best among the known portraits as, *e. g.*, the curious overlap of the superior orbital *orbicularis palpebrarum* above the same muscle's lower segment, which is apparent to an exaggerated degree in one of the youthful heads published by Stark, the mind still requires some intentional indication by the sculptor of the nature of his subject. Nor is such an indication wanting. To some it may perhaps appear rather conventional and external, being no other than the semicircular groove or channel about the hair, roughly imaging a fillet. A fillet is the distinctive feature, in like manner, of the d'Azara bust, and is rendered also, as a groove, in a small glass one at Florence.<sup>51</sup> In the numismatic domain, we first find it on the Ἀλεξάνδρεια with elephant-scalp struck by Ptolemy Soter, and afterwards on that coined in his own effigy, and on the tetradrachms of Hieron II of Syracuse. Alexander was the first occidental prince to employ the fillet as an emblem of royalty; for the διάδημα he used was but of woollen woof. If the essential simplicity of this insignium was congenial to Hellenic taste, its origin was Oriental, and its use the legacy of the Persian Dareios to his successor. It was a marvel of textile art from the loom of a cunning Babylonian artificer. Alexander wore it habitually. One day as he was boating on the waters of Babylon, a gust of wind took off this priceless fillet with his hat, which presently sank. But the riband, floating lightly on the air, stuck among the reeds that grew close to an island shrine. A sailor swam for it and placed it on his head to keep it dry until he reached the royal barge again. Arrian tells of how the Babylonian soothsayers advised the bloody removal of one who had worn Alexander's diadem, and of the princely reward that the King

<sup>51</sup> This head lies in one of the cases of the "Museo Etrusco." It bears the number 3984. I was not able to ascertain its provenance, or whether it has been recognized for what it is. Its dimensions are quite small (h. 0.065 m.), and the material may possibly be rock-crystal, although the breaks show no lamination. The main fracture is at the junction of neck and shoulders. The surface is polished. The nose is partly broken off, but not so as not to leave its outline sufficiently certain. The forehead is indented, the brows drawn, the eyes raised, the mouth half-open with sunk corners, the chin round but prominent, the throat full, the muscles of the neck uneven, the whole head a little awry. The hair rises from the forehead and falls down at the sides like a mane, covering the ears. Three tusk-locks line the left cheek. The fillet-cincture of the head was double, two grooves running round at a slight interval from each other. Altogether the head resembles our terracotta most closely, even to the roughness of finish in its detail. The general effect differs as one expects a work in hard material to differ from one in soft material.



gave him instead.<sup>52</sup> The equestrian statue at Naples exhibits this arrangement of the hair, then, only by an historical prolepsis.

Of a more intrinsic and puzzling nature than this external attribute is the sorrowful expression in connection with the upward and slanting direction of the eyes, in the drawn brows and the falling corners of the mouth. The fallen Giants of the Pergamene altar-frieze wear the same expression as indicative of physical agony. In the famous head of the Uffizi gallery, copied from one of the figures in that composition,<sup>53</sup> the same sets of muscles are drawn and relaxed. The difference is one of degree. What in the marble proceeds from bodily suffering, in the terracotta assumes a milder character. It is indeed known that Alexander's latter days were disturbed by a thorn in the flesh, a constant pain in the back of the head such as is known to accompany or to precede paranoia in certain cases. This is the explanation suggested by Lützow. But it is not necessary to resort to it. The insatiable, restless passion of conquest was enough to color the whole expression at times. The artist has seized on such a moment. Emphasis of the emotional aspects of the human countenance was the phase sculpture was passing through. The prominence of such a work as the Laokoön group, at a period not long subsequent, is what led Lützow to think of a Rhodian origin for our little bust.

Brunn has selected and analyzed the famous Vatican bust of Glaukos as a characteristic specimen of this tendency.<sup>54</sup> The aimless sadness, which finds expression in that splendid piece of sculpture, accentuates itself in less contained works, as in this Alexander, to a tension of the features sufficient to be taken as an indication of great physical suffering. From the extraordinary and unexplained resemblance of its features to those we have learned to recognize in the portraits of Alexander, a large triton's torso from Tivoli, in the Vatican Museum, the better serves to prove this thesis. But for its animal ears, the head of this piece might well be taken for the royal portrait itself. The expression of the triton's countenance is that of our bust. Less absolute, but nevertheless highly remarkable, is the portrait-resemblance noticed by Lützow in the sea-centaur carrying off a nymph, in the "Sala degli animali." Here, where an earlier age of art would have given the features an expression of coarse and triumphant hilarity more obvi-

<sup>52</sup> *Anabasis Alexandri*, I, 44.

<sup>53</sup> BLUEMNER, *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1880, p. 162.

<sup>54</sup> Westermann's *Monatshefte*, 1885.

ously consonant with the situation, we have in the triton the same appearance of distressful suffering. In this case it obviously results, not from bodily pain, but from the straining spiritual tension of an unsatisfied, craving sentiment. Both tritons have, with the features of the royal portrait, the sorrowful upward cast of the eyes so noticeable in our terracotta, and observable, as Brunn has shown, in the Glaukos. The sentiment that pervades the mild features of the marine deity is the tender melancholy of an unobjective yearning. One can only suspect its amorous quality. Such an emotion would be too divorced from reality, perhaps, for such rude fellows as tritons, who are but marine satyrs, to experience. The emotion is occasioned in one by the inattainability, it would appear, of the object of his desire, in the other, by the unresponsiveness to his rough affection of that object, the struggling nymph in his arms.

The solution I would offer, to account for the strange resemblance between the actual likenesses and ideal embodiments of mythological conceptions, is the simplest possible. The individual type, once firmly grasped, became a common artistic property, which could be used to embody any idea that could be made to find expression through it. One of the prime achievements of Greek sculpture, in the age of the successors of Alexander, was the intelligent portrayal of barbarian ethnic types. The portraiture of Alexander himself, as of a prince of barbarian race, and of a conformation of skull very different, without loss of beauty, from the traditional straight-nosed pure Hellenic type, offered the same problem. Once solved, the type was employed for such subjects as the foregoing, where a certain un-Hellenic rudeness belonged to the nature of the conception: this rudeness belongs likewise to the Giants of the great Pergamene altar-frieze, many of which are so many posed Alexanders, and a copy of one of which has long been taken for the royal likeness it at once is and is not. Whether the large torso in the Louvre until recently known as Inachos<sup>56</sup> be really that river-god, or an unrecognized portrait of Alexander, as M. Reinach has endeavored to show, it gives us a good example of the actual or possible interdependency of the individual and the ideal in a similar field. This strange phenomenon, the reiterated employment of individual features in ideal creations, has sometimes been traced in the work of single artists. Its

<sup>55</sup> No. 253; in the "Galleria delle statue." No. 228.

<sup>56</sup> *Gazette Archéologique*, 1886, Nos. 7-8, pl. 22.

form in this case, the reappearance of a subject fairly exhausted by the portraitists in the undreamt disguise of a river-god, a sea-centaur, or the like, is unique in the history of art. After all, however, it is but a manifestation of the surviving force of that earlier artistic spirit which Alexander personally did much to break. To lend a prince the attributes of deity, the bolt of Zeus or the nimbus of Helios, was cheap flattery and weakness of imagination. The passing of Alexander's personality into the domain of the mythology of art is a process diametrically opposed to this, and purely Hellenic.

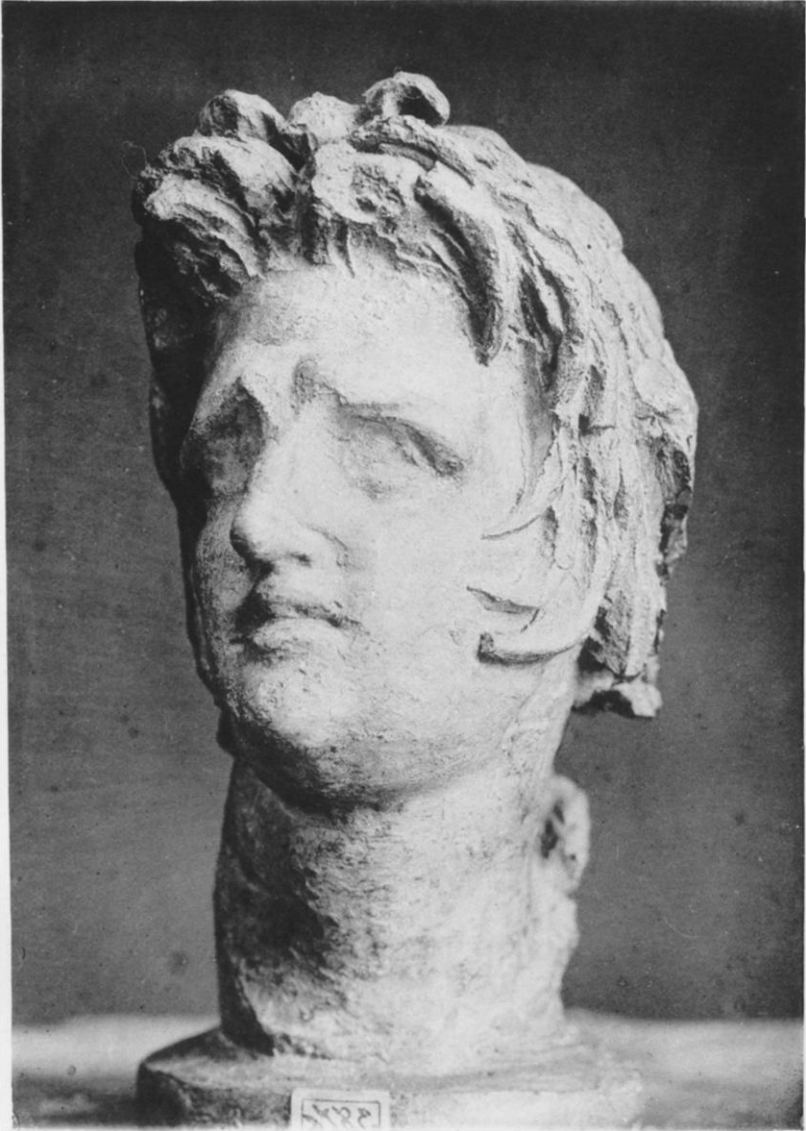
I desire to express my grateful obligation, for the facilitation of researches required in the preparation of this article, to the authorities of the Royal Bavarian *Antiquarium*, of the Paris *Cabinet des médailles*, and of the Italian museums in general, and my thanks in particular, for valuable assistance and suggestions, to Professors W. von Christ, F. von Reber, H. von Brunn, of München, to MM. E. Babelon and M. Prou, of the *Cabinet des médailles*, finally, not least, to Professor A. L. Frothingham, jr., the Managing Editor of this JOURNAL, and to my brother, Mr. George H. Emerson, who superintended the work of photographic reproduction.

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TERRACOTTA HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT,  
IN THE ROYAL ANTIQUARIUM AT MUNICH.



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